1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

The same official, Volkov, was for a long time unable to collect the fur-tribute from the Koryak of Shestakovo village. When some of these Koryak came to Gishiginsk with furs to sell to the merchants, Volkov ordered the furs to be confiscated. The Koryak went away empty-handed. When, after that, Volkov passed the village of Shestakovo, the Koryak surrounded the underground house where he stopped and tried to beat him. The chief drew his sabre, and with its flat side struck over the back a Koryak who was trying to get at him. Then all the Koryak fell upon the chief, but they were held back by his body-guard of five cossacks. The cossacks, in the Koryak language (which the chief did not understand), begged the Koryak not to ruin them by acts of violence on the chief. The Koryak yielded to the entreaties of the cossacks on the promise of a present of powder, and after the Koryak who had been struck by the chief had been allowed to pass his hand over the back of the chief's coat (without his knowledge of it), thus simulating a return stroke.[1]

In the Report cited above there are other facts of a similar nature. For instance, District Chief Mazurkevich, when visiting the village of Kamenskoye in 1872, provoked by the insolence of the Koryak I'velqut, struck him in the chest to drive him away. I'velqut attacked the chief, but was caught by the latter's body-guard, and driven out of the underground house. In a few minutes the house was surrounded; and the cossacks of the guard, seeing that they were unable to shield Mazurkevich from harm, offered themselves as a propitiation for the insult. The Koryak were satisfied with this substitution, and gave the cossacks a thrashing.

To give an idea of the Koryak customs and manners, I will cite here some incidents of my personal intercourse with them. In the fall of 1900 some Koryak from Kuel took my companions, myself, and my luggage, in two skin boats, from the mouth of the Paren River to their settlement. I asked them what they wanted in payment for their trouble. They held a consultation among themselves, and asked for twenty bricks of tea. It must be borne in mind that they were then out of tea. In summer they do not come in contact with the Russian merchants, and their supply laid in during spring is quickly consumed. If by chance a Russian merchant were to come among them in the fall, he would charge from two to three rubles for a brick of tea.

Now, the distance by sea from the mouth of the Paren River to Kuel is about twelve miles. According to local conditions, the price set by the Koryak was too high, and I asked them if they did not think it was too much. The elder of the Kuel settlement, old Euvr'npet, replied angrily and impatiently, "If thou findest that it is too much, then we do not want any

[1] Told by a cossack who participated in the quarrel.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

437 177

pay I had not expected that my question would offend them. In my intercourse for a number of years with other Siberian tribes, I had not only always come to an understanding with them about the pay for their services, but in most cases had set it myself. In cases where I offered less than was asked for, they never took offence.

Among those tribes there is no definite scale of prices for services in general, and obviously not for those for which I was the first to apply to them. Sometimes a native would ask of me at random the first thing that he saw in my tent, or in the house where I stopped, without taking its value into consideration. For instance; a girl from the Itkana settlement asked me, by the advice of her uncle, in return for permission to make a cast of her face, for a copper pot which I subsequently exchanged for a small skin boat.

After my experience with Euvi'npet, I did not haggle with the Koryak again when I had not come to a previous understanding with them. I often gave them more than they asked for, since they would ask for a trifle, when it happened to strike their fancy, in payment for quite laborious work. In the end, the Koryak left the settlement of the reward to me.

123 609

I had another unpleasant experience among the Reindeer Koryak during the fair on the Palpal Mountains in March, 1901. Owing to the epidemic of measles that had been raging a short time before my arrival, I was not welcomed very cordially. By order of the old men, no one wished to be measured. A few men only, who acted independently and did not care for public opinion, consented to be measured two or three days after my arrival.

The women were angry when I applied to them for anything. They wished to get our presents, but they were afraid to disobey the old men. One young woman, tempted by the presents, began to dictate a tale to me. With her and my interpreter, I sat on a sledge outside. While she was dictating, an old woman came up to her and said something. Thereupon the young woman showed signs of impatience, and talked reluctantly. When I asked her to explain one place which I did not understand, she suddenly flung the presents at the interpreter and ran away into the common tent.[1]

Another woman, whom I asked to sell me the embroidered trousers for men which she was drying, replied angrily and with irony, "Go, go farther! Look for cutting-boards!" She was hinting at the fact that I had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to buy, from some women, cutting-boards with figures engraved upon them. However, the husband of the woman brought to me on the following day those very trousers.

It should be kept in mind, in connection with these remarks, that the Koryak look upon every traveller as an official of high rank. If I could have remained longer with the Palpal people, I have no doubt that our

[1] See Part I, p. 77.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

[592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000
592 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000
511 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the
437 exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals
439 in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs, fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agaric. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of
171 transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

A brick of tea[1] is sold at Gishiginsk (the centre of Russian trade) for fifty kopeks (about twenty-five cents); but, as the distance into the interior from that point increases, the price rises, until it reaches a ruble or more. 435

I have already stated that the Koryak do not sell their reindeer alive, especially the driving or breeding bucks; but they exchange them for other reindeer. A good Tungus driving-reindeer is usually worth two Koryak reindeer. The Tungus seldom sell their reindeer for slaughter. On my trip from the district of Gishiginsk to the Kolyma River, I bought on the Varkhalam River, in the camp of Abraham, the Tungus I mentioned before, a few reindeer for provisions on the way, and took them along with me. I paid six rubles per reindeer. A good Tungus riding-reindeer is valued at ten rubles. In the north of the Yakut territory, where the wealthy Tungus harness their reindeer to sledges and engage in transportation, a driving-reindeer is valued at from twelve to fifteen rubles. A Yakut draught-reindeer is valued still higher. On the Yana River and at the mouth of the Lena River, a good Yakut draught-reindeer is prized at twenty-five rubles. Not far from Verkhoyansk my dog frightened a team of harnessed post-reindeer. They started off, ran into a tree, and one of them broke its leg. It had to be killed; and by agreement with its owner, I paid him half of the cost of the reindeer, namely, twelve rubles. Since the Yakut will not kill their reindeer, they buy the skins of Chukchee reindeer or of wild reindeer for clothing. Not infrequently Yakut reindeer-herdsmen may be seen dressed in coats made of skins of musk-deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) or mountain-sheep, or of skins of calves of cows, lined with the fur of hares. 233 171 435 437

A reindeer-herd multiplies very quickly under favorable conditions. Starting with a herd of a hundred females in the second year of their life, when they just begin to breed,[2] and assuming that they, as well as their female offspring, will continue to produce one fawn each per year for the following ten years,[3] and, further, that the number of bucks and does born each year will be the same, we find that in the eleventh year the original herd of a hundred females would have grown to a herd of 11,420 head (5760 does, 5660 bucks). From this calculation it may be seen with what rapidity a reindeer-herd would multiply if its growth were not moderated by mortality among the fawns, by slaughter for meat and skins, and, above all, by epidemics. Barren does are so few, and stillbirths so rare, that these two factors need not be taken into account. 233 433

Of the annual offspring, the wealthy Koryak kill about half for meat

[1] A brick of tea usually weighs two and a half Russian pounds (one kilo); but some bricks weigh two pounds, and others two pounds and three-quarters.

[2] Quite often rut sets in among the does the first autumn after their birth, and they become pregnant.

[3] The average life of a reindeer is fifteen years, and the does bear until the end of their lives. Cases of the birth of twins are not rare.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

592 231 511 Families that have poor or young workers, and who cannot lay by sufficient stores of dog's food for the winter, usually own few dogs. The members of such families are deprived of the chance of making trips to the Russian hamlets to buy imported wares, or to the nomad camps of the Reindeer Koryak to trade for reindeer-meat.

Number of Households.	Number of Dogs in each Household.	Total Number of Dogs.
1	2	2
4	3	12
4	4	16
4	5	20
4	6	24
7	7	49
13	8	104
5	9	45
13	10	130
3	11	33
5	12	60
2	13	26
1	15	15
1	16	16
3	17	51
1	18	18
8	20	160
Total 79		781

471 494 Nearly all the men who own as many as twenty dogs, — enough for two teams at the rate of ten dogs per sledge — either conduct an independent trade or are employed as clerks by the Russian merchants. Almost all through the winter the senior member of such a family is journeying from one reindeer-camp to another; while at home only a few dogs remain for work around the house, for trips to get wood, for hauling supplies of food [326] from the summer camp, and for other exigencies. The smiths of Paren and [437] Kuel, too, own not less than ten dogs each, which enable them to carry their iron-work among the Reindeer Koryak for barter. I found the best dogs among the Itkana people.[1] Their settlements lie off the main trail, running

[1] Around Bering Sea the best dogs are to be found on the Poqal (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 102).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

sables is of larger caliber than the one used for squirrels. Oftentimes the Kamchadal shoot sables with shot. If the animal runs into a hole, the hunter sets a nettle-thread net near the entrance, and drives it out either with the help of a dog, which digs the hole open, or by means of smoke. In our Koryak collection there is a sable-trap with sinew spring from the Opuka River. It is one-third the size of similar traps used for catching wolves. In Kamchatka a dead-fall is set for sables. Sable-hunting is a most difficult pursuit, because the animal is very quick and cleverly escapes its pursuers. It vanishes in the snow, and makes passages under it; it conceals itself under stones, dry boughs, and roots of trees, and leaps from tree to tree, making it difficult to take good aim at it.

The gray wolf (*Canis lupus* Linn.) inhabits the tundra. It is hunted mainly by the Reindeer Koryak, who have to protect their herds against its ravages. Besides, wolf's fur is considered handsome, and is used for manufacturing caps, mittens, collars, and trimmings of clothing and foot-wear. Part ot the wolf-skins are exported. In 1899 one hundred and twenty were taken out of the Gishiga district. The Koryak hunt for wolves in the same manner as do the Chukchee.[1]

Only a few skins of ermine (*Putorius ermineus* Linn.) are exported, and it seems probable that the Koryak do not hunt it much. It would also seem that this animal is not common in the Koryak territory.[2] Ermine is hunted by the Russians and by the Maritime Koryak, who set near their store-houses traps based on the principle of the self-acting bow, in which the animals are strangled.[3] The Koryak have undoubtedly borrowed this device from the Russians. In Siberia it is specially favored by the Yakut, who employ it for all small animals, and I think it is a Yakut invention.

The otter *(Lutra vulgaris)* and wolverene *(Gulo borealis)* are rarely met with, and are therefore merely casually hunted. Formerly the skins of both of these animals were used for trimming festive garments. That of the wolverene served for adorning the finest clothes among the Koryak as well as among the Kamchadal and Chukchee. Even now wolverene-skins obtained by local hunters are not exported from the extreme northeast of Siberia, but they are imported by merchants as one of the most attractive articles of barter. At present the Chukchee are the principal consumers of wolverene-skins, and the wolverenes killed by the Kamchadal are also exported by merchants to the Chukchee.

Bird-Hunting. — Birds of passage, like ducks, geese, and swans, were formerly shot with bow and arrows, but are now shot with rifles. However,

[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 137, 139. On the wolf festival see Part I, p. 89.

[2] In 1899, 124 skins were exported *via* Gishiga, while from the Kolyma district 6000 ermine-skins were exported *via* Yakutsk.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting, etc., Fig. 8, *a*, 4, p. 17; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 52, p. 143.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

262 side of the Taigonos Peninsula, who wander with their herds near the Russian villages or near the main trail, and are often visited by Russians on their 233 dog-sledges — send out in summer several members of their families to 556 prepare a supply of sun-dried fish for winter use, and for food for their guests and for their dogs, that they may not have to kill too many reindeer for this purpose. A whole small reindeer suffices for but a single feeding of a team of ten or twelve dogs.

262 Generally speaking, the Reindeer Koryak are very fond of eating dried 574 dog-salmon and "sea-morsels," (i. e., the meat and blubber of sea-mammals). 437 They seek every opportunity to satisfy this craving, which is possibly a survival from a period when the present nomadic reindeer-breeders were still maritime hunters. As soon as the snow is in good condition for driving, the Reindeer Koryak begin to appear on sledges in the villages of the Maritime Koryak to obtain "sea-food," and barter entire carcasses of frozen seal, oil, dog-salmon, and skin of the white whale. Each Reindeer Koryak has among the Maritime people a friend who supplies him with sea-food, and who, in his turn, later on visits the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak to get reindeer-meat.

262 With all the craving of the Reindeer Koryak for the "sea-morsels," they dislike subsisting long on sea-food. Thus a wealthy Taigonos reindeer-breeder told me that his sons had lived too long on the coast, subsisting on fish and seal alone, and had become completely worn out. He then went to his herd and killed a reindeer for them, that they might regain their strength. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak like to obtain reindeer meat and fat, even when they have plenty of fish; while in winter, when fishing is poor, they often visit the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak either to buy reindeer-meat or to obtain it by begging.

223 In describing bird-hunting,[1] I mentioned that its economic importance is slight. The Koryak do not like sea-gulls, and consider them tasteless; but 262 when food is scarce, they do not disdain them. Early in summer, previous to the fishing-season, the Maritime Koryak eat all kinds of sea-fowl; but when fishing and sealing begin, bird-hunting ceases. The Koryak are very fond of birds' eggs. During the nesting-season they undertake expeditions to the islands in skin boats to gather eggs, which are collected by hundreds and eaten boiled right after they have been gathered, or on the following days. They do not discriminate between new-laid and rotten eggs. Once I was 252 present when some Koryak were eating boiled eggs which were so decomposed that a strong odor was noticeable a long way off. In many eggs there were already half-hatched birds, but this did not in the least prevent the Koryak from relishing their food.

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[1] See p. 557.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

262 boiled as a gruel. Most of the Koryak can rarely afford to have imported
439 food, as they have no money with which to buy it. Biscuits and fresh bread
also have the reputation of being good food; but these, too, very rarely come
[437] within their reach. In winter the cossaks and other Russian inhabitants take
bread to the Koryak villages and camps, and exchange it for reindeer-meat
and other products. Still the Koryak look upon biscuit and bread rather as
a dainty, and not as a real food on which a human being can subsist. I
have heard the Koryak say that when they eat too much bread, they suffer
from stomach-ache.

272 Tea came to be known after the people had come into contact with the
177 Russians. At present its use is wide-spread everywhere. Most of the Koryak,
however, have no tea in summer, as they lack the means to buy large
supplies. The kind of tea used is brick-tea. To make tea, the brick is
heated by the hearth, as a result of which it becomes soft and can be minced
with a knife. The minced tea is boiled in a tea-pot. The tea decoction is
strong, and almost black in color. Brick-tea is inferior to leaf-tea as a stimul-
272 ant. The Koryak drink much tea, ten and more cups in succession, and do
264 so several times a day, provided they find any one willing to treat them.
Usually the Koryak drink tea after meals; but when guests are feasted, a
light side-dish, like sun-dried fish, marrow from reindeer-legs, or berry-pudding,
is served first, then tea, and finally meat dishes. Tea is served in the same
order by the other inhabitants of northeastern Siberia; for instance, by the
415 Yakut, Tungus, and Yukaghir. A teapot and two or three cups of crockery
177 or enamelled ware, with saucers, are found in nearly every house. They are
preserved as treasures, in special boxes with holes chiselled out for the cups;
or they are wrapped in soft rags. In the absence of a sufficient number of
cups, they drink tea by turns, the women and children after the older people.
Visitors usually bring their own cups with them. . . The Koryak also have
home-made cups made of deer-antler and horn of the mountain-sheep. The
small tin cans in which our condensed milk was put up were very cleverly
turned into cups with tin handles. The Koryak drink the hottest tea from
them without burning their lips.

276 Narcotics and Stimulants. — The Koryak have also learned the use of
177 tobacco from the Russians, and, like all other Siberian natives, they are passion-
ately fond of it. But while others, the Chukchee among them, mainly smoke
tobacco, very few smokers are found among the Koryak. Generally they
chew it, more rarely they snuff it, or they use it in both ways. They use
strong Russian leaf-tobacco, imported from the south of European Russia, in
bunches of about two pounds each.

[137] For both chewing and snuffing, the tobacco is ground with ashes.
Fig. 113 shows a wooden mortar with a pestle for grinding tobacco. When
grinding the tobacco, dried leaves of cudweed (*Gnaphalium uliginosum* L.)
are often added.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

afterwards. I was told of two old men who also drank their own urine when intoxicated by brandy, and that the intoxication was thus kept up.

From three to ten dried fungi can be eaten without deadly effect. Some individuals are intoxicated after consuming three. Cases of death rarely occur. I was told of a case in which a Koryak swallowed ten mushrooms without feeling their effect. When he swallowed one more, vomiting set in, and he died. In the opinion of the Koryak, the spirits of the fly-agaric had choked him.[1] They related that these spirits had come out with the matter vomited, in the shape of worms, and that they vanished underground.

The Koryak were made acquainted with brandy by the Russians and by American whalers. Despite the prohibition issued by the Russian Government against the importation of brandy, it often finds its way in winter into the Koryak villages and camps, being taken there on trading-trips by Russian merchants. Whalers take it to the coast settlements in summer. Like all other primitive tribes, the Koryak are passionate consumers of brandy, and dealers often obtain an arctic or red fox in exchange for one wineglassful of brandy. To my question as to which they preferred, brandy or fly-agaric, many Koryak answered, "Fly-agaric." Intoxication from the latter is considered more pleasurable, and the reaction is less painful, than that following brandy. Like fly-agaric, brandy is drunk chiefly by elderly men. Old people do not give it to the young, that they themselves may not be deprived of the pleasure; and if young people or women happen to obtain brandy, they frequently give it up to the older members of the family. Two herd-owners whom I met on the Palpal were entirely unacquainted with this drink. Some Koryak in the coast villages have learned from the Russian Cossacks how to make brandy of bleaberries. They subject the berries to fermentation, and by means of a pipe distil the liquid from one iron kettle into another, the latter serving as a refrigerator. The result is a rather strong liquor of such disgusting taste and odor that the mere attempt to taste it nauseated me. Krasheninnikoff[2] says that the Cossacks in Kamchatka and, following their example, the Kamchadal, distilled brandy from "sweet grass" (*Heracleum sphandilium*).

MEALS. — The Koryak are rather moderate in their use of food. Such gluttons as are seen among the Yakut are rarely found among them. They eat twice a day — in the morning, soon after rising; and at night, before going to bed. If the food-supply is abundant, they take a light third meal in the middle of the day. The Reindeer Koryak usually eat reindeer-meat both morning and evening; while the Maritime Koryak generally eat sun-dried fish in the morning, and seal-meat, if there be any on hand, in the evening. In general, the principal meal is taken in the evening. The habit of eating heartily before bedtime is widespread throughout northern Siberia.

[1] On the religious attitude towards fly-agaric, see Part I, p. 130.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 406.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

325 Koryak blacksmiths in summer. They make fires of driftwood, and pour water over the coals after the wood has burned over. Then they carry the coals over to the smithy in skin bags. The Koryak blacksmith has a special suit for his work. In summer he works bare to the waist, dressed only in old skin trousers, and in winter he puts on a worn fur coat. Of course, in severe cold no work at all is done in the smithy above described.

555 The blacksmiths of Kuel and Paren work both on merchants' orders and
326 for the barter carried on by the artisans themselves. The Russian merchants
437 supply the artisans with iron, and pay for the work with tea, tobacco, and other wares. Besides, the blacksmiths themselves acquire iron, hammer out knives and spears, and travel with these to the local fairs or the camps of nomad reindeer-breeders, and exchange the iron goods for reindeer-skins, meat, and furs. The last-named are afterward exchanged to merchants. Skilful blacksmiths, like those above mentioned, are paid special respect. As among all primitive peoples, the blacksmith's art is not viewed by the Koryak as a trade which every one can learn, but as a divine gift.[1] In Kuel and Paren, however, a considerable part of the Koryak can hammer iron; and in addition to the recognized talent, there are second-rate blacksmiths, who work periodically, before fairs, in order to acquire clothing and food in exchange for the products of their art. In general, the villages of Paren and Kuel may be considered as the centres of Koryak blacksmithing; while Kamenskoye is a commercial settlement in which are concentrated the Koryak intermediaries of exchange between the Russians and the "Reindeer men" (Koryak and Chukchee). In accordance with this, the Parenians and Kuelians, as representatives of labor, are poorer than the inhabitants of Kamenskoye, the representatives of commerce.

326 The articles hammered out are finished by the blacksmiths with files.
412 The art of polishing iron is unknown to them. The work of Koryak blacksmiths is limited to side-arms, tools, and several other household objects.

Fig. 139 represents an axe (*a*) and an adze (*b*) made in Paren. The axe (ai'ļan) is in the shape of a common Russian axe, and is used for chopping trees and wood. The adze (*b*) is mounted on a handle, axe-fashion, but its blade is set crosswise and is curved. This tool is called "axe with ears" (weļō-aiļan). It is used in hollowing out troughs and dug-out canoes, like a crooked adze (see Fig. 140, *b*).

Fig. 140, *a*, *b*, represents two adzes made in Paren. That marked *a* is a straight adze (ga'ttı). In shape it is an imitation of the ancient Koryak adze made of ivory or horn. Its handle is also curved, like that of a bone adze. The handle of the specimen here figured is made of bone of whale, but wooden handles also occur. The blade is mounted on the handle without

[1] Among the Yakut the blacksmiths stand on a level with the shamans. The Yukaghir blacksmiths have special protecting spirits. The position of the blacksmiths among the Tungus is similar.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the first braid is sewed. The braid then continues spirally around this strip of skin, the spirals being sewed together. These bags are ornamented by inserting at a certain place a dark or ornamented braid, which occupies one turn of the spiral, to be followed by a plain turn, which again may be followed by a decorated turn. Thus it happens that at one place in the basket the ornamented and unornamented strips are sewed together, and the irregular appearance is presented because the ornamented turn of the spiral always ends one row above the point where it begins. This technique is shown in Fig. 164, *b*. In this case the lower part of the basket is made of coarse braid, while the upper two-thirds are made of a much more closely woven braid. In Fig. 164, *c*, the insertion of the decorative band is made in a different way, a single black spiral being inserted, which tapers at both ends. The technique of this style of basketry is shown in Fig. 164, *a*.

Fig. 163 ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{5}$). Water-tight Basket. Northern Kamchatka. Height, 34 cm.

The Maritime Koryak are about the only part of the tribe engaged in basket-weaving from plant and other fibre. The Reindeer Koryak women have no time, and their large cold tents are unsuited in winter for carrying on the work of preparing the material and weaving the baskets. The Reindeer Koryak women content themselves with sewing-bags made of skins and with the woven baskets obtained by exchange from the women of the Maritime tribe.

Ancient Pottery. — I have referred several times to the excavations of ancient Koryak underground dwellings, which I made at the mouth of the river Nayakhan and on the seacoast between the mouths of the rivers Nayakhan and Gishiga. Before undertaking to describe the potsherds found in these excavations, I will make a few general remarks on the remains of these underground dwellings and how the excavations were conducted.

The Koryak themselves consider these remains as the dwellings of their ancestors, who had lived there previous to the advent of the Russians, and they call them by the same name as they call their present underground dwellings (see pp. 448, 453). These dwellings are therefore the dwellings of the Koryak, and not those of another tribe, and they are not very ancient.

Seen from the outside, these remains form circular or nearly circular

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

In every village of Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, I found the women at work on rugs during the winter, but only once did I see a rug used by the Koryak themselves as an ornament in the house. It covered the platform which served as a sleeping-place for guests. Evidently this industry has developed as a result of Russian demand. To a great extent this is also true of embroidered coats. Every Russian or Yakut merchant, or official in the Maritime or Yakut provinces, if he has to travel on private or official business, buys an embroidered coat of reindeer-skins of Koryak manufacture. It is seldom that the Koryak themselves wear embroidered coats. They are worn only by Koryak traders. Women wear embroidered dresses more frequently than men. I speak here of every-day clothing, and not of festival, dancing, or funeral garments, which are always embroidered. The making of rugs has principally developed among the Koryak of Penshina Bay. They find competitors, especially in silk embroideries, among the Russianized Koryak women of the Yamsk settlement. The Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantzy women on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River also enjoy quite a reputation for their art of ornamenting fur dresses and making rugs. The Russianized native women of the Kolyma, however, are less skilful than those of the Anadyr.

Fig. 233 ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{7}{13}$). Kamchadal Coiled Basket. Diameter, 15 cm.

In decorating fur rugs, colored thread and silk or bead embroideries are not used. Small pieces of the white and of the black fur of young reindeer sewed together are the only material used for the ornamentation. The comparatively cheap fur of young reindeer — with its thick, soft, and glossy hair — matches in beauty the expensive furs, and is less valuable only on account of its lack of durability, since the hair usually falls out soon, as in dresses of reindeer-skin. Rugs, however, last longer. Since the entire beauty of a rug is in its ornamentation, it is almost wholly made up of the pieces of white and of black fur which form the ornamental figures. A Koryak girl will work all winter on a rug, if it is a large one, in order to exchange it with a merchant for cloth, calico, ornaments, or food-products. The rugs are either square or of elongated rectangular form. Their length varies from one metre to three metres. As in dress-decoration, the regular designs are geometrical forms, animals, conventionalized plants, or a mixture of all these forms.

The rugs here illustrated were made in the villages of Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Kamenskoye.

572 We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving custom of making friends and fraternizing with members of an unrelated family. No formal rites accompany the formation of such friendships; at least, not at the present time; on the suggestion of the visitor or of the host, the two simply decide to be friends. It is customary among the Koryak to give some present to a man who enters the house for the first time. This is evidently the first step towards gaining the friendship or good-will of the stranger. In ancient times such friendships imposed on the members of a fraternity the duty of mutual protection against enemies; at present, however, their obligations are limited to mutual material support. In principle, this support must be regarded as an exchange on credit. It appears as if friends did not count favors, yet one or the other of them was always considered in 572 debt. Friendships are concluded among the Maritime as well as among the ● 437 Reindeer Koryak; but the friendships of the Reindeer Koryak on the one hand, and of the Maritime Koryak on the other, are of greater significance. 574 Without a fixed system of exchange, these two sections of the people could not exist. The Reindeer Koryak needs seal-skin thongs and entire skins of sea-animals; he also wants seal-blubber, and enjoys an occasional meal of sea-animals and fishes. The Maritime Koryak, on the other hand, needs reindeer-meat for food, and particularly reindeer-skin for clothing. With the first snowfall, in October or November, communication between the two groups is established. Parties of Reindeer Koryak at once start out for the settlements of their friends on the coast, who, in their turn, visit the Reindeer Koryak during the winter months. Generally the host asks his newly arrived friend what he needs, and informs him of the extent of his own possessions and the amount laid aside for barter. The host, on such occasions, frequently understates the amount in store. The visitor will often ask for any object in the house or storeroom of his friend which happens to strike his fancy, and he seldom meets with refusal.

The Koryak, in general, are afraid to disregard the wishes of any man, for refusal might arouse his anger or displeasure; and the ill-will of a man, whether shaman or not, may result in misfortune. The visitor, on his part, tries to be moderate in his demands; for if the host fulfils them reluctantly, and conceives an ill-feeling against his visitor, the object received will not bring any luck. However, in spite of all this, inequitable exchanges of services between friends do occasionally result in displeasure or misunderstanding.

Friendships are also formed between women, who then call each other ña'ul. In exchanging goods, the Maritime Koryak women provide chiefly embroidered and other ornamented parts for clothes, bags of seal-skin, grass baskets, and decorated boots; while the Reindeer Koryak women contribute sinew-thread, reindeer-skins, and clothes.

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents [609]
generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other imported articles. 572 574

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer. Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent. In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth, obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all [576] other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply "Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti." 437

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; 761 but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character. Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps, is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to 476 relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need. 731

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social 174 life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached 565 the stage at which the nobility and the common people would appear as two 558 sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter, who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands 174 of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheri- 565 tance, might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of 556 aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgin, "neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

[1] See Part I, p. 104.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

found side by side with the communistic principle, but that at the present time the principle of work has become predominant. As I have said before,[1] not all among the Maritime Koryak are owners of skin boats. For the hunting of sea-animals in boats, many men are required, and the owners of boats are eager to accept the services of those who do not own any. The relations of these helpers to the owner of the boat are not those of hirelings and master, but of associates with equal rights. The catch is divided into equal parts. In order to obtain more men for his boat, the owner at times takes for himself less than his just share. The participants in his chase, on their part, contribute their own harpoons, and supply the owner with thongs and skins for repairing the boat. When fish and seals are caught with nets, the owners of the latter form groups of several families at each net, among whom the haul of the net is equitably divided. Some individuals prefer to hunt and fish by themselves. Needed assistance is offered mostly to relatives through blood or marriage. Workmen hired for a certain yearly compensation can be found only in the Russianized settlements. Men serving for their brides occupy the position of free workmen; if, however, they have to support aged parents, a share in the products of hunting and fishing is accorded to them. During the exchanges with tradesmen it becomes evident that the hunter's right or ownership is more sharply defined in reference to products of fur-hunting than in reference to objects of consumption. At home the hunter deals with the skins of the fur-animals he has killed more independently than does the fisherman with the fish he has caught, exchanging them frequently for articles he personally needs.

The position of herdsmen among reindeer-owners is now essentially the same as before;[2] but, if a herdsman lives with his family in a separate tent, the number of reindeer he will receive during the year to kill is often agreed upon in advance.

Russian influence has further manifested itself in the tendency of large families to split up into smaller ones. The Koryak assert that in ancient times the houses were more spacious, and that all relatives, to the number of forty or more individuals, lived together in one dwelling. In houses of the Maritime Koryak I have never seen more than fifteen individuals. Among the Reindeer Koryak I found twenty-five individuals in one tent, thirteen of whom, however, were herdsmen and their families. Besides, the sisters and daughters of the master had married into other families, which is of common occurrence, although in ancient times families related by marriage not infrequently lived together. In this case, however, the elder brother, with his family and herds, had also separated from the group, which in ancient times happened very seldom. But nowadays I have frequently met cousins or brothers

[1] See p. 338.

[2] See p. 766.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYY Koryak RY4

543
437

Fairs. — I have stated before that during the winter months representatives of firms and petty traders make the round of the settlements and camps of the Koryak, but in two localities[1] veritable fairs are organized. Both take place on the Palpal in localities about one day's journey apart. The more southern one is known as the Koryak Fair; the other, as the Chukchee Fair, on account of the prominent participation in it of the Chukchee from the Palpal. Both fairs are held in March, the Chukchee fair coming first, and the Koryak immediately after. The locality selected is not always the same. It is determined by the Reindeer Koryak from the Palpal, who take into consideration the convenience of the reindeer-owners. The participants in the fair, while on the way, receive intelligence as to the locality decided upon. The same agents and petty traders visit both fairs, which last from three to five days. Among the traders, the ironsmiths from the western shore of Penshina Bay, carrying their iron products, may always be seen. The buyers at the two fairs are different. These fairs are arranged particularly for the benefit of the Palpal Reindeer people, who follow their herds far away from the main routes. Other prominent participants in the fairs are the northeastern Maritime Koryak from the Poqač and the Opuka Rivers, and some Kerek. These fairs are not very crowded. The people assembled number from two hundred to four hundred, and the transactions sum up to a few thousand rubles. The fairs are attended by a Gishiginsk official accompanied by three or four Cossacks, who receive the tribute from the Palpal Koryak, and preserve order. The Cossacks, however, are utterly unable to fulfil this latter duty unless assisted by the Koryak themselves. The Russian Administration prohibits the merchants from opening the fair until the tribute from the Palpal elders has been gathered in.

I witnessed one of these fairs, — the Koryak one. It took place in the valley of the Vaňnetat River. The Reindeer Koryak were stationed on an open treeless plain on one bank of the river. They erected one spacious common tent,[2] excepting two Chukchee families, which had tents by themselves. Not far away from the large tent the Russian traders took their stand. The goods were placed on exhibition on sledges and boxes. Two of the Russians had canvas tents in which they slept wrapped in furs. On the opposite bank the Maritime Koryak from Penshina Bay and Bering Sea could be seen. Here mumerous fires were burning, at which tea was boiled and reindeer-meat cooked, and around which the Maritime Koryak slept at night in the open. The temperature at night fell to — 35° C. The poplars and aspens scattered over the grounds were used for fuel. Close to the fires stood the dog-sledges of the Maritime Koryak, on which bags with goods and other articles were heaped. The dogs were tied to trees to keep them from attacking the

[1] See Part I, map

[2] See Plate XIX, Fig. 2, and pp. 451, 763.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4KoryakRY4

reindeer which were roaming near the tents of the Reindeer Koryak on the other bank. Early in the morning the Maritime Koryak would start crossing the river to the Reindeer Koryak and the Russian merchants, and back to their own camp. The skins of foxes and other animals were procured from the bosom, or brought in bundles, and offered to the merchants in exchange for goods. The merchants sold knives and spears. During the first two days the Reindeer Koryak made offerings of reindeer to the owner of the place and to other deities.[1] On the last day, when the camp was deserted, all that was left were heaps of antlers of the killed reindeer, and traces of the numerous fires. Plate XXIV, Fig. 2, represents the train of a Reindeer Koryak after the close of the fair, ready to leave the deserted camp.

Units and Prices. — The average prices which I gave for the export goods in the above list are the prices made by the merchants for the trading-companies in Vladivostok, to which place the goods were sent. The actual cost of these goods to the merchants is determined by the value attached to the articles received in exchange. These values, as will be seen later, vary greatly. When the petty traders sell fur skins to the merchants for cash, the skins are rated at approximately the prices given in the list. Thus, for example, a red fox varies in price between 4 and 5 rubles; a gray fox, between 12 and 13 rubles. Squirrels, the exchange units of the Tungus, are rated at 20 kopeks apiece; a reindeer-skin, at 1 ruble; and a dressed skin of a grown reindeer-calf, at 1 ruble 50 kopeks; and so on. Koryak who come to Gishiginsk in the winter also sell fur skins for cash, to pay the tribute, and to make purchases at the official store. As a rule, however, trade is still carried on by barter; and the valuation of the import articles by the merchants depends on the locality where the exchange is expected to take place. The farther from Gishiginsk it is, the higher become the prices of the articles. A brick of tea, for instance, — which is one of the most common units, and weighs about 1.5 pounds, — represents at Gishiginsk the value of 50 kopeks; but, as one proceeds away from Gishiginsk to the interior, its price gradually increases up to 2 rubles. At Vladivostok, on the other hand, a brick cost, during my stay there, 30 kopeks. Another important exchange unit, a package of tobacco-leaves, weighing 2 pounds or slightly above that, and rated in Gishiginsk at 60 kopeks, also reaches the price of 2 rubles. Besides, the merchants do some cheating. For instance, special orders are placed with Chinese plantations for bricks of smaller weight than the normal, and tobacco-packages are untied and three are made out of two; the stems of the tobacco-leaves are soaked in water, which is absorbed by the tobacco, thus increasing the weight of the package. Iron and brass ware is sold by the pound, and is rated, iron at from 30 kopeks to 1 ruble; brass,

[1] See Part I, p. 96.

1:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

435 at from 50 kopeks to 2 rubles. The result of this system is, that for a brick of tea one can get one reindeer-skin in some localities, and four reindeer-skins in others.

• 437 177 For 5 arshin[1] of calico for a shirt, one can get one or two reindeer-skins. Some Cossack traders, profiting by the love of the Reindeer Koryak for gay colors, manufacture small wooden boxes, paint them with colors, or cover them with red cloth, and exchange them for foxes or other furs. Of course, only Reindeer Koryak of distant localities can be caught by such devices. Koryak women give reindeer-skins, bags of seal-skin, small rugs, and other products, in exchange for glass beads, ear-rings, bracelets, brass buttons, and other ornaments. Sugar is the favorite exchange article. During the winter the Reindeer Koryak store away the tongues of killed reindeer, and in spring deliver them to the merchants in exchange for sugar, one tongue being given for each piece. In general, sugar is the most mobile exchange article next to tea and tobacco.

452 Many Reindeer Koryak, as well as the trading Maritime Koryak, enjoy credit with the merchants, and settle their accounts semi-annually or anually with furs or reindeer-skins. On the whole, however, trade on credit is much less common with the Koryak than it is with the Tungus or the Yakut.

436 Notwithstanding the exchange character of their trade, the Koryak, even in the remotest regions, know Russian money. In the places nearest to Russian settlements the Koryak prefer money to exchange articles in trading-transactions, and also as compensation for services rendered, for with money they can make purchases at the Government store.

Curiously enough, the Russian monetary unit, the ruble, has among the Koryak the same name as iron, *polou'nto;* a paper ruble is called keli'tul polou'nto (that is, "painted iron"); while a silver ruble, as well as silver itself, is called ñaña-polou'nto ("current iron").

487 Routes. — I have spoken of the means of transportation in several chapters. As to routes, there are none in those localities where the Reindeer Koryak wander with their herds. The Reindeer Koryak, in their wanderings, follow the currents of rivers or streams. From the valleys of the rivers they ascend to the pasture-land of the elevated treeless tundras, or cross over the mountain-ranges to other valleys.

487 The Maritime Koryak, in their winter travels with dogs, follow definite routes. From Itkana one route leads to Gishiginsk, another to Paren. From 205 Gishiginsk the route leads over Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Shestakovo (Egač), to Kamenskoye. Between Shestakovo and Kamenskoye, the route branches off to the north, by way of the Penshinsk settlement, to Markova on the Anadyr; and from Kamenskoye one route leads to Palpal, another to Talovka. From

[1] An arshin is equivalent to 0.778 of an English yard.

1:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the settlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak, often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter, hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil. The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kamchadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions, the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neighboring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kamchadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be discussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Koryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korkodon Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the country by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

11: Kennan--203-204 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 276, 437, 177.27 Reindeer
636.27 Russia

"There is a peculiar fungus of this class in Siberia, known to the natives as 'muk-a-moor,' and as it possesses active intoxicating properties, it is used as a stimulant by nearly all the Siberian tribes. Taken in large quantities it is a violent narcotic poison; but in small doses it produces all the effects of alcoholic liquor. Its habitual use, however, completely shatters the nervous system, and its sale by Russian traders to the natives has consequently been made a penal offence by Russian law. In spite of all prohibitions, the trade is still secretly carried on, and I have seen twenty dollars worth of furs bought with a single fungus. The Koraks would gather it for themselves, but it requires the shelter of timber for its growth, and is not to be found on the barren steppes over which they wander; so that they are obliged for the most part to buy it, at enormous prices, from the Russian traders. It may sound strangely to American ears, but the invitation which a convivial Korak [204] extends to his passing friend is not, 'Come in and have a drink,' but, 'Won't you come in and take a toadstool?' Not a very alluring proposal perhaps to a civilized toper, but one which has a magical effect upon a dissipated Korak. As the supply of these toadstools is by no means equal to the demand, Korak ingenuity has been greatly exercised in the endeavor to economize the precious stimulant, and make it go as far as possible. Sometimes, in the course of human events, it becomes imperatively necessary that a whole band shall get drunk together, and they have only one toadstool to do it with. For a description of the manner in which this band

gets drunk collectively and individually upon one fungus, and keeps drunk for a week, the curious reader is referred to Goldsmith's 'Citizen of the World,' Letter 32. It is but just to say, however, that this horrible practice is almost entirely confined to the settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf--the lowest, most degraded portion of the whole tribe. It may prevail to a limited extent among the wandering natives, but I never heard of more than one such instance outside of the Penzhinsk Gulf settlements."

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

In summer, during the fish-runs, all reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy migrated to the mouths of rivers, where they lived with their sedentary kinsmen and worked with them, preparing stocks of fish for the winter. The reindeer herds remained at this time in the care of herdsmen—the boys of the family. This second type of Koryak reindeer-breeding originated much later than the first.

The hunting of sea animals (various species of seal and white whale) was the principal occupation of the northern sedentary Koryaks, who lived on the coast of Penzhina Bay: Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy. It also played an important role among the rest of the sedentary Koryaks: the Kereks, Apukintsy, Palantsy, Karagintsy, and sedentary Alyutortsy.

Sea hunting was done during two seasons: spring and fall. The spring season began in mid-March and ended in the latter part of June.

The hunters, armed with rifles and spears, drove out in parties of 78 men, or more, by dogsleds on the sea ice, 5 to 10 kilometers from shore. The seals, which climbed out on the ice, were shot with rifles. The kill was loaded on the sled, and the hunters returned to their village either the same or the following day, after a night on the ice. In a party of 78 men, 2 usually had guns, while the rest brought in the catch, loaded it on the sled and transported it; some were simply onlookers. In May, when open water appeared among the ice floes, sea hunting was done in baydars (skin boats).

The fall season began in mid-September and ended in the latter half of November. The fall hunting was also done in baydars and barkasy [flat-bottomed plank boats]. The animals were caught with nets of sealskin strips.

Long ago, the Koryaks hunted whales. According to legends and literary sources of the 18th century, the hunt was conducted with a huge net, woven of thick strips of leather. Large stones were used as sinkers. The net was attached to coastal cliffs and crags. Dozens of baydars, each with more than 10 hunters, armed with harpoons, sailed out into the sea. The hunters drove the whale into the net, in which it became entangled. The heavy sinkers made it impossible for the whale to swim out into the sea with the net. The hunters showered him with spears. Wounded and exhausted, the whale died, and the hunters joined forces to pull him ashore. The Alyutortsy also used joined boats instead of baydars in hunting whales.

The skins of sea animals were used for straps and boot-soles. The meat and blubber were eaten and stocked. The blubber also provided light. To the Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy, the products of sea hunting—blubber, skins, and sometimes meat as well—served as the principal media of barter with the reindeer-breeders, from whom they obtained deerskins and meat.

Fishing had long been the main occupation of the eastern sedentary Koryaks of the Bering Sea coast: the Karagintsy, the sedentary Alyutortsy and the Apukintsy. Fishing was also important to the western sedentary Koryaks—the Palantsy, and the northern ones—the Kereks—and somewhat less for the settled Koryaks on the Penzhina—Kamentsy, Parentsy and Itkantsy. Fishing was done throughout the summer and early fall season—from mid-June to the middle of September.

The most widespread method of fishing was by means of barriers. The river was fenced off from either bank with two barriers of stakes and twigs. At the place where they met, the fishermen attached under the water a chiruch (a sack-net) or a "muzzle," made of strips of wood, laths or twigs. Such barriers were set in shallow places, where the fishermen could work during shoal runs without boats or kungasy [sailboats]. The "muzzles" were emptied several times a day. During the heavy runs of fish (Siberian salmon and other migrating salmon species), the Koryaks moved to the mouths of rivers. Here groups of households combined into cooperatives and fished